

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

103 ^B Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry
in the dry season, and one can see this plainly;
reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a
kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of
the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampung Roworeke.
He is married, however, into the kampung Watu
Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a
Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampung. There are also six main suku
in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu
Odja, Rea Ndonga, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara.
There are members of other suku in the kapitan-
schap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams
of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga
were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after
three of these in succession the kapitan passed
into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of
these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says
that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five
hundred years old. This may indicate that the
kapitan organization came in only about two hun-
dred years ago. It is not at all certain and I
must ask further questions about this kapitan
business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
• 565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 suku there are two families which are noble and
therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son
of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not
satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from an-
other noble family of the same suku or from any
of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 suku. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

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They did

614 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
582 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke,
178 however, the old adat is still strong and the
exogamous rule still holds. The young people
who have gone to school are beginning to rebel,
but the elders remain strong and hold to the
adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan.
Most of the rest are Christian, although there
are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the fa-
miliar one of the younger generation becoming
Christian while the older generation remains
pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewa-
rangga, because there are five suku and about
two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers.
In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he
is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas.
Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of pub-
lic works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility
and others not (I must find out more about this).
The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro
kuni. Then there are four mosa laki, which seems
to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah
elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief
(thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is
called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u
(pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on
this as it may be a survival of a purely genea-
logical localization of clans in a single kampong).
He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u.
The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

773 from van Suchtelen, but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for
example, that the girl was not really in the
form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came
wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one
of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the
other, after having a child in Sikka who produced
the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende
and had children there who became the ancestors
of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was
killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given
to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and
Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I
can see that the myths here have many versions.
The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there.
The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusias-
tic in telling about these myths, and it always
seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind
both kampongs and said that they are located
there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu
pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the
lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they
go to these places from time to time, and I must
find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the
new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the
old dances and old adat costumes here. They will
put on this ceremonial dress for photographing
later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
• 565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not
on the trunk, as Körner² says for Rea Ndonga) until
they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
[231] the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and
skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and
put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree
[177] burial as unhygienic.

*See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography.

[Isidore - 111 127]

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs
often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I
must find out how the funerals are run now.
Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember
that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the
plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and
there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even
among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[197] The assistant has finished five grades of
schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast,
a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders
for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar
topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the de-
signs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan.
Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they
have a holiday whenever there is the slightest
excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I
must find out about later, is how the kepala kam-
pong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in
only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently
means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan
and others are not. I must get this kepala kam-
pong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the
main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
[614] final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.

[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
●565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

613 I asked if there was a name for the set of
565 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
632 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
"lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
[124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

Wa

Then we went to

614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here.
There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because
some of the suku share houses. Normally the
rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the
girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter¹
social organization material. They were delighted
to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed
his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and
got the following list of suku and subdivisions
and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the
guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivi-
sion, but he said no. He said he had thought it
over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house,
and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used
to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang
Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale
laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to
sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of
the ancestral house they shared with the other
division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng),
which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale
on the land side, was for the other division.
The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
● 565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of
the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter
is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means
descendants. The whole system has reference to
the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in
ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the
head and is the chiefly or head suku normally.
The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet,
and they are the assistant suku to the head.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

Wae

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and
they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus
the double entendre words which seem to prevail
in this language come to light. Also the Hurint
do the praying, and in the old days the priests
were from this suku as well as were the judges.
The Marang passed around and still pass around
sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites.
The Marang also acts as general helper so that
if any of the other three have trouble with the
beast he rushes in to aid. The function is
symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other
three, but the social system is symbolized in
ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank
and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the
guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo~~ng~~/ Lango' Bele')
and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter
gets women from the former, and gets fish from
the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift
exchange following the marriage exchange system.
Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the
fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives
the fish. Could this be again the serpent and
the dove? The kakang said that if he went to
the guru's house and there happened to be some
fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would
be a terrible breach of respect and much shame
would be felt. I think this is correct, but I
must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to
get and Vatteramesses it up. The guru says it
is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to
say it.

2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

609 ~~Wb~~

423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who started it, for example. There is a pasar at
443 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
497 of the people who go to this market are women
462 who carry on trade by means of barter. There
436 is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak, [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "coopera-
tie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

178 The guru said that there has been almost no technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great economic problem.

114 He¹ said that much of Arndt's² and other scholars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
124 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
159 them exactly what the old men say. The young
634 assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt² says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field

[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters

[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at
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¹ [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]

² [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Also

611 I think he said it is possible to pay part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is
endogamous. They prefer to marry within the
sib. They may marry out also. They have the
same term for all cousins, and may marry with
any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patri-
lineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus
there may occur cases of double descent with
patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans.
This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
324 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill
or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn
or use in any way the wood of the tree totem.
583 Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
554 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
614 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai
speech, however, is quite different. Arndt
says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead
they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren says). These
are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper
commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower common-
ers (azi ana) and slaves (ata ho8). An upper
woman may never marry a lower man, but the re-
verse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working
in a Ngada kampung, but the Soa area has already
been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready
on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically
nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to
Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and
after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we
1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

~~the~~
[799] 124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in
pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to
get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in
Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot
write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kam-
pong along the road, and here there is a chapel.
This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a
couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kam-
pong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with
a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
342 houses, notably large, and although the roof is
178 of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood
and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjan-
tjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but
now all new ones are built in a rectangular
shape, and most of them are now built of wood.

142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are
better looking than in other parts of Flores.

231 There are many more horses and buffalo here,
and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can
get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few
va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.

624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The
other two round houses are near his. They form
sort of a quarter. The priests say that the
tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter
of some concern to the old people to keep at
least one boy a pagan as his successor. This
is becoming hopeless, because just about all

We

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter, (they must be repaid.) The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a
man buys a child, who then becomes one of his
own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

- 582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
 2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
 3. Gelarang bangsawan
 4. Leke (commoners)
 5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way.
The last two may intermarry, also either way.
Polygamist marriages are possible, and this
goes even for the Christians who do so in order
to have more children. He talked as though
polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not
so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of
dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is
also a medicine man, and he is important in
ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the
kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjan-
tsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara,
on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah
tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rec-
tangular house, which was an unknown thing here
before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular
house, there is a main post or rather a place
which serves as a main post, and here the tuan
tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan
tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

^ [i.e., meeting the bride price -- Analyst]

Weol

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol.
There are three other Weol kampongs in the
daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong
and five branch kampongs. All of them, includ-
ing Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. In-
deed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center
[614] whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the
same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two
gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But
this is a special case as it is the directly
governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives,
however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang
Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the
four gelarang into which the daluschap is di-
vided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three
kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are
in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I
wonder if perhaps, before, these were the dis-
trict chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kam-
pong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kam-
pong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the
kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the
tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even
the purely administrative officers in the adat-
chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son,
but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu,
after quietly finding out the will of the folk
in the kampong.

Weol

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang.
These folk came in before from Boleng, in North
Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but
when things became crowded, they went below to
kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many
people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for
real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in
Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evi-
dently as coolies) and settled down. There are
many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong
Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original an-
cestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas.
Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa
(red beans). For example, if a child eats these
unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not
"cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as
is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called
ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off
the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of
her husband's clan. The woman marrying into
Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do
the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves
a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into
another clan must do this rite to give up her own
totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and
Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

Wa

565 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung
632 complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in
624 about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the
622 tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin.
(Does this mean that no native chiefs were
made dalu? Evidently.)

622 There is no native term for the kepala kam-
624 pong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each
592 house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru.
The latter word means house. He is chosen by
the men of the house.

623 The kampong council, which must be called
592 together for each case, includes the tuan tanah,
693 the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their
own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan
tanah is the chairman. An example of this would
be a case concerned with land. If the case is
concerned with administration, for example, with
theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In
all cases, however, all of the members of the
council are present.

614 The clans are divided into subclans called
624 panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a
panga. In Weol there are three panga and three
tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan
tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two
panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan
tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and
tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 I asked about the origin of the panga. The
173 original ancestors, Valko Dangka and Ine Karas,
had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They
married wives of another va'u and between them
had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten,
a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daugh-
ters of Djawa are remembered and the sons for-
gotten). Each of these became an ancestor of
a panga, and in the course of time their descen-
dants split into many more panga. New panga may
be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

We

776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng,
is properly called Moring Agunaran.

● 565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any
big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong
may be called kraeng.

196 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very
clever kills the animal. (This is like the
touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He
is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or
any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that
they try to hurt the opponents, and that the
girls admire one who has put out another's
eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves
under the holy trees, but they say that there
are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they
get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars
on the backs of many of the men because of this.
There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men
from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them.
Two old women were beating drums to all sorts
of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating
on a gong. Later two women played two gongs,
and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

We

614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of
stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive.
It is located a little to the side of the path
and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about
this: it is a woman turned to stone with her
child because she bathed naked) is located four
kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong
Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,¹
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in
the kampong. In the garden itself they kill
only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These
are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent,
Coolhaas is right.

● 565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The
term kraeng-is used for all three levels of
nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,¹
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If,
however, there is need of a new tuan tanah
house, labor is given without pay. And if there
is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah
besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the
kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps,
although other kampongs may assist in some way
or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
565 Their descendants are still known. It is also
114 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
pang) until it was certain that they would not
run away. It is also correct that slaves who
had been in a family for a long time might even
marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached
[See bibliography, cat. 10 -- Analyst]

We

- 601
114
- ema father, father's brother; mother's sister's husband.
 - nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
 - amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
 - inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
 - empo grandparent.
 - weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
 - kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
 - kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
 - wina mother's brother's daughter, wife.
 - rona father's sister's son, husband.

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Coolhaas¹ is all right on cross-cousin marriage, too. Only one of a set of brothers marries a mother's brother's daughter. Other brothers may not do so. In this event it can be any of the brothers, not only the eldest. But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114
582

Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348¹ Two

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 ^{we} rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 There may be a system here, but they are
583 sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return, gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas A [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 The assistant saw the point of a male-female
181 dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 At the marriage feast they kill animals.
585 Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas
585 (page 351) are all right, but the amounts quoted
• 565 are for the upper classes. The lowers have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

114 ~~was~~
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[585] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given
by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far
away. These are clan names, which are given
to kampongs founded by split offs from the
mother kampung. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud
of this Minangkabau story while at the same
time it may harm them in light of Manggarai
nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes
says that when the Dutch were trying to select
a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they
thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not
a contented area and that the people there
wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch
chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime
kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is
that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around
Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle
under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may
see a possible chance of paying off old scores.
This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where
self-governing setups led to exploitation of
lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may
try to raise themselves up to a parity level
and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put
in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak
Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask
questions, and they will reply without first go-
ing through a translator. However, the reply

^ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hehuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nageh-peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624
● 565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the
plaza. This has some relation to the elder and
younger brother stuff mentioned in the manu-
script report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low
and are carved in a human form. This is known
as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata
deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles
measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls
so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and
buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a
rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially
true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the
wall of the porch. We later found out that the
ata deo may be used by others than the mori
ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are
only for him. I saw some especially elaborate
lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi,
has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than
one per kampong) and the rest of the things
just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has
a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had
been no renewal they said that they would do so,
but they would have to get the buffalo first.

^ [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a
769 female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a
237 simple rectangular small house inside of which
224 are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this.

[171] This is just like Mentawai, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 The mori ndaru and kepala kampung of Naru is
614 easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hehuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hehuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 When there is a sacrifice they must always
346 smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the
531 mori ndaru, and any other house which has the
342 elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 When I asked about marriage rules, they were
565

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
● 565 same class, of which there are three: nobles,
commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata
hoß, but I forget the terms for the others.

[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a
second wife. They are more open here about sla-
very than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are
relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types
here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay ele-
ment predominates, and the East Flores Negroid
types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid
traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars.
There is also a great difference in the color of
the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not
so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not
the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby
and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted.
We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in
Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most
men have their names or initials as well as
figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the
[177] secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy
tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners,
but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I
note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mere-
schappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan.
This one is evidently Naru.

R

614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolo-tolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampung. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampung and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampung and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampung and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampung of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampung and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampung are: kepala kampung, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case
hearing. His younger brother is the admini-
[565] strative kepala kampung. (The kapitan says
[212] that if the kepala kampung did not come from
nobility the people would not follow him, and
so I can see that they choose a man of the
adat kepala kampung or ata nggaëh nua family
for the administrative kepala kampung and in
addition one who can read and write. (Then
they can keep the old man in the adat post.)
Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampung there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the
kepala kampung and the oro kuni. The same
pattern holds for the district. The kapitan
is the administrative man, and then the mosa
laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This
might be the same man, I suppose. Then they
have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming
to it were the Big Four (here the Kampung Four
too), the kepala kampung, the ata nggaëh nua,
and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the
mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the
kapitan), could ask questions and keep things
in line. The kepala kampung must be present
too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampung).
This case was one concerned with marriage. I
must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administra-
tion. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are
supposed to be used for administrative posts
by the government. But they are rarely so
used evidently, and this causes the dual sys-
tem: adat and administration. They may coin-
cide at any point. Generally, I think that

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632 Generally, I think that
622 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
624 example, ata ngga^h nua) into administrative
693 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
631 can think of the following possible reasons:
(1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and
cannot do administrative work therefore; (2)
adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission,
therefore, probably does not like them (indeed,
one of the main ends of the mission is to do
away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they
usually say they want to do this because he
stands in the way of progress and land reform,
but this is a rationalization; it is like killing
the Toradja death feasts because of immor-
ality, when the real reason is that they
constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival);
(3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even
today are probably the centers of possible
revolt against alien laws and government, and
thus it is better not to let them have too
much power. So they let them handle harmless
adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat
level, taking all important functions away
from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
ministrative appointees (who may be "elected"
in a way) are always or nearly always of the
adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala
kampong is the younger brother of the ata
ngga^h nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the
adat lineage. They are literate and Christian
(or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

231 Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
417 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
through. One end of the rope is attached to
the neck of the buffalo and then passed
through the U, and the other end is fastened
to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when
the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

Wa

124 has also adopted the term kekuatan adjaib, and loves it.

582 The rules are as follows:

614	<u>Wailolong man</u>	marries	<u>Leloba woman</u>
	I		II-2, III
	II		II-2, III
	III		I-2, I-3a, IV
	IV		I-1, II-1
	V		I-la

Thus no man of Wailolong marries a Lewodoreng woman of Leloba.

	<u>Leloba man</u>	marries	<u>Wailolong woman</u>
	I-la		V
	I-lb		III
	I-2		I
	I-3a		?
	I-3b		I
	II-1		III
	II-2		IV
	III-1		IV, V
	III-2		IV, V
	III-3		IV, V
	IV-la		I-c
	IV-lb		I-c
	V-1		I, II
	V-2		I, II

614 This brought out certain problems with the
565 material recorded earlier. The subsibs in each suku are ranked according to first, second, and in some cases third. The terms are waru'i, waktukang, and tuhowutung. These mean, approximately, first, middle and last. Now we see that certain suku, subsuku, and sub-subsuku names are of one kind and some of another, and some have two names showing different meanings. These

We

614 meanings are:

- 565
- (1) Personal name of ancestral founder.
 - (2) Rank of the ancestral founder (pangkat).
 - (3) Power ranking of the group (1, 2, 3).
 - (4) Original kampong of the ancestors (for example, lewo).

And, I suppose, in the case of Kottang, etc., the rituals function as (5).

And then, perhaps, ones which have a mere name and no purpose; thus (6).

We didn't analyze all the names, but what we did goes as follows:

614
565 Leloba

551 I. Ama Kottang (function) (Kottang means "head").

1. Belepe Lolong (meaning: "upper terrace").

Buto Talu (ancestor personal name).

(note: making means merely "descendant of")

Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' (big and little house).

This subsib is No. 1, or Ama Waru'ing, in the suku Kottang.

2. Waktukang. (meaning "middle"). No ancestor name.

3. Ama Marang (function) (Marang means "pray").

Dong Laung (side of a sleeping bench which faces the sea).

Dong Raeng (the side of the sleeping bench facing the land).

This is the Tuhowutung or last subsib of the suku Kottang.

II. Ama Keleng (function) (Keleng means "feet").

1. Tuakerura (just a name, no significance)

(this is No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib of suku Keleng).

2. Ama Belemang (a ritual function) (rank of ancestor).

This is the last ranking subsib of the suku Tuhowutung.

III. Ama Hurint (function) (Hurint means "cut").

1. Ama Waru'ing (No. 1); may also be called

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Ama Wadjundiri, the ancestor's personal name.

2. Eramolik (ancestor personal name). This is No. 2 subsib, or Waktukang.
3. Ola Demong (ancestor personal name). This is No. 3 subsib, or Tuhowutung. Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' are big and little house.

IV. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).

1. Lewamaking (personal name of ancestor). This is the No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib. Nipatale' (meaning?). They are slave descendants.
2. Ekimaking (ancestor's personal name). This is the last ranking subsib, or Tuhowutung.

V. Lewonuhah (original kampong name).

1. Ama Kottang (the waru'i subsib).
2. Ama Keleng (the tuhowutung subsib).

Wailolong

I. Ama Datong (function of Kottang, but Datong is the name of rank).

- a. Ama Radja (personal ancestor name). This has the last subsib rank, Tuhowutung.
- b. Ama Belolong (has the rank of No. 1, or waru'ing, and Belolong means "high").
- c. Ama Rere (Rere means "low"). This subsib is notable. I have some important corrections about it.

There are two subdivisions:

- (1) Ama Rere. These, as told above, are descendants of war captives from Maumere eighteen generations ago. They own no land, have no ritual function, and have no duties.
- (2) Ama Rere Ama Tobi. (Tobi is a personal name). They are descendants of members of Ama Radja and Ama Belolong, who seven generations ago ran away from

Wailol

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● 565

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Wailolong to Bama because of troubles over marriage, bride prices, and perhaps others. They came back to Wailolong three generations ago, but although they were allowed into the kampong, they have lost their land and ritual standing. They marry like Ama Rere. It is remarkable to think that when the old people thinking what to do with these returned refugees decided to equate them with war captives!

II. Leworita (original kampong name) (function of Kelen).

- a. Suba (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
- b. Harut (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
- c. Tapopukang (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).

III. Ama Hurint

- a. Hadumboleng (personal name), Baka (personal name). (middle rank, Waktukang).
- b. Mari (personal name; rank No. 1, Waru'i).
- c. Mela (personal name; rank No. 3, Tuhowutung).

IV. Lewato (kampong name).

- a. Ama Waru'ing, also Ama Radja (the latter is the personal name of an ancestor).
- b. Ama Waktukang (just means middle; not a personal name).
- c. Tuhowutung (just means No. 3; not a personal name).

V. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).

- a. Ama Waru'ing (just No. 1 rank; not a personal name).
- b. Enga (a personal name; last rank, Tuhowutung).

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On the records there is a case of a man of

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173 which was inhabited after the Lenurat days.

621 This was Bluhur, near Watuwiti. The place is
● 565 still there, and whenever a kampong has a new
korke feast, they must go there too and sacri-
fice an animal. While the five brothers were
still living in Bluhur, there was a war
against the Padji aborigines in Adonara. The
Demon folk there called on the Ili Djadi to
help, and the five brothers went. The first
brother, Belawaburak, was killed there in
battle. The other four asked the Demon folk
for an indemnity, and they paid this in gold
(lots of it). This money was to replace the
lost one. The four brothers were still to-
gether, and had only one korke. Nowadays no
one lives there, but if a new korke feast is
held, they must go there and sacrifice an ani-
mal. This was eighteen generations ago. Thus
it was perhaps five to six hundred years ago,
or perhaps a bit less.

Then came a war against the Padji, who lived
all over the present territory around Ili Man-
diri. They tried to drive them out. There was
some fuss over a deceitful trick played by the
Padji, in which the Ili folk gave their gold in
good faith to the Padji, but the latter cheated.
They decided they could stand these folk no
longer, and so they went to war. Keweluk, the
second brother, stayed in Bluhur, handling admin-
istrative things, and the other three brothers
went to war. There were ten Padji kampongs.
The Ili folk won, and killed one of the women
at once, and brought the head back to Bluhur.
But evidently, after some further grievances,
they went to war against the Padji again. This
time they captured the two main war leaders of
the Padji, and afterwards, as usual, they killed
one and brought the other back to Bluhur. This
time, Bampowa had remained behind to do the
administrative work. Instead of killing the

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173 war leader of Padji, they stripped the skin off
62) his face and body and arms, and rubbed salt and
565 pepper into his raw flesh, and then instructed
him to go to all the ten Padji kampongs in turn
and destroy their korke one by one. Under a
magic spell, he did as he was told, and as he
knocked over the last korke, he fell dead.
The Padji, afraid of the magic power of the
Ili folk, decided to sail away. Some were
still left, however. I think these were on
the beach on the way to Larantuka town. Then
the four brothers set fire to the grass and
bamboo thickets, and the latter burst with loud
booms all the way from Larantuka to Konga.
(Perhaps this is a rationalization for the
agricultural burning off of fields which has
evidently denuded the area here. Although I
thought perhaps they might have thought that
the Padji hunters would have lost their hunting
lands by this kind of burning off of the forest
cover and this would be why they would have to
get out, they said that the Padji were already
good agricultural folk and in fact that the
Ili people had first learned agricultural tech-
niques from the Padji. Hence this theory looks
bad.)

Anyway, the last remaining Padji, scared
stiff, went off. There are no Padji left here.
Then a fight started between the second and
third brothers, Keweluk and Kewaka. (The "enemy-
brother" theme.) The former wanted to marry the
widow of the deceased eldest brother, Belawa-
burak, but the latter became angry because he
wanted her for himself. The latter won the
fight and married the widow, Ninidadja. Keweluk
ran off to a place near Wailolong (in Wailolong
territory, but far away) named Lewokeda', and
there founded a kampong. This was the start of
[171] the bertjerebre, or separation (note the simi-
larity with the watu mpoga'a, or stone of separa-
tion of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).

We

173 tion, of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).

621 Then Bampowa went away and founded Mudakaputu

- 565 (after some previous moves); and Mado, the youngest brother, after a number of moves, went and founded Watuwiti. Kewaka, already in power in Tiwa, moved his kampong to Lewohala. Thus occurred the arrangement whereby Keweluk was the founder of Wailolong, Kewaka the founder of Lewohala (from which Lewoneda later branched off), Bampowa was the founder of Mudakaputu, and Mado the founder of Watuwiti. I am not clear as to how Belawaburak is linked with Leloba, but evidently his descendants went there and founded it.

Somewhere in all of this material is a kind of local glorification for all of the kampongs and perhaps a kind of ranking. The latter, however, is very unclear and it would seem that the fame of the brothers and their "functions" in the legend were something like this:

Belawaburak was a war hero and his death brought a great store of gold to the Bai Pitu.

Keweluk was a war leader, and at one phase was an administrative leader too. The latter was during the second Padji war.

Kewaka was a war leader and also won the fight with Keweluk. He also married the widow of Belawaburak.

Bampowa was first a war leader, but stayed home in the last Padji war and did administrative work. This gave him a real privileged hold on administration, and his kampong, Mudakaputu, was for a long time the holder of the kakang post here. Recently other kampongs have had the post. Today Leloba has it.

[789] Mado, founder of Watuwiti, seems to have the least claim to fame, and he was the youngest brother. Something is said, however, about how Watuwiti folk are famous for making "medicine" which can make men mad, or rather silly. This

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
189 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine
is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people
here know this story, and he said yes. It is
evidently the main legend. He said that they
do not know it perfectly, but the main facts
and events are clear and everyone knows the
story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads
every Wednesday. There used to be another on
the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the
Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer
there. It was held on Friday. There is a mar-
ket place in Larantuka town, and the market is
held there every day. However, there is no
market week system. He knows of one in Adon-
ara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate
markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives
fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the lat-
ter gives fowl to the former. If these suku
are in different kampongs, there is the exchange,
but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs.
And again it shows how marriage is the basis of
the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the hori-
[178] zons in terms of the world at large were some-
what extended. For the first time, the people
here heard of Japan, the United States and other
countries. This was much the same thing that
took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago
no one here knew about such countries. As for
other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty
years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since
the war they have learned at least the names of
a few other islands. This is really epochal on

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346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to
get the folk to sell their tusks in order to
get money to contribute to the new church.
This works on the grounds that the people were
careless with their fire in the fields when
there was a high wind, and this caused the burn-
ing of the church. It is all a wily game, and
the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the
last few pagans. The guru is full of the propa-
ganda of rationalization. For example, he says,
how do we know where the ancestors are? If
they led good lives they are in heaven; and if
not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they
were good they must be in heaven, even though
they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing
of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another
ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in
Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the
kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common
folk. This is why one must show respect to the
uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so
perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid
of hitting a noble child.

752 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may
be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of
them are women. I asked how one got to be a
molang, and he said that in general they get a
call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 There are only two elected representatives
632 here and also in Wailolong. The only election
565 in the area is for the parliament. There is
634 also a kind of election for the kakang. The
622 choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampung of
[646] the eight kampongs. In the old days, although
they got together, and went through the form of
accepting the oldest son of the deceased or
ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son.
Now they actually choose from candidates. The
candidates must be of the proper nobility, so
there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous
kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because
of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates:
Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang.
Roy says they were the only ones who were both
noble and qualified. By the latter term he
means that they were clever enough for the job.
They had to be of the direct descending family
of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of
Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee.
Roy said that he does not force a choice, but
lets everybody talk freely.

632 Then it came out that there have actually
634 been three phases in the kakang business: (1)
622 pre-1915: he merely represented the succession;
[178] (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the
radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the
period when the Dutch and the radja worked to-
gether, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present:
election within limits. Roy knows the word
"candiçaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the
kepala kampung. The last imposed kakang, of the
Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He
had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala
kampung, but the radja would not accept him (in
1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected).
This is an example of radja tyranny.

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777 and the price the outsiders ask is giving up
177 the old religion.

829 The people know nothing about other lands
565 and certainly nothing about their governments.
However, they know the names of other countries
and a bit about the roles they play in world
events. I asked if they knew about demokrasi,
and he said that the word is used all over here
now, although it is brand new. They don't know
what it means. He says that they tend to think
that it means a kind of anarchy where anyone
can take anything, with no respect for rank. I
wonder if maybe in this thoroughly ordered and
stratified place, where inherited rank and in-
equality prevails (rank, class, ritual, respect,
etc.), and indeed exists in the very heart of
the society, whether when they first heard that
democracy meant that all people were equal, this
did not sound like anarchy, as they could not
imagine an ordered world where there was no rank.

829 They know nothing about the actual facts of
648 the United Nations, but they have heard plenty
about the "Kumpulan Medja Bundar". Round Table
Conference. This all came out when they saw
the red and white flag and asked what all of
this was about. They got the story that there
was the Round Table Conference, and that at it
Indonesia became free and this was the new flag.
The flag was the symbol that produced the story.
They also have heard a lot about the United States
and that it helped in obtaining Indonesian freedom
(perhaps we managed to salvage some touted good
will in Indonesia). Beyond this, however, they
know nothing of world politics. They did know
about the Allies (Bangsa Serikat; Kattenburg
says "Pemerintah Serikat"), as they were partly
involved in the war. They think that this union,
and especially the United States, beat the Jap-
anese. When asked if the Dutch helped, Roy said
that they have no thought on this matter, as

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794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.

665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word *desas-desus* [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

178 The situation here is the reverse of the usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals, 797 in the sense that they are against the old things which are pagan, and the pagans are the 565 conservatives in the sense that they want to 177 keep the old ways. This will change later, 769 surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (*ketranggan* [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
● 565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is
clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles
had been against Catholicism it would have been
much more difficult (impossible? Note India,
where the handicap of missions has been that
most of the people converted have been untouch-
ables; and the joy of the missions has been
whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the
medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when
they saw that the Catholics were determined to
wipe out the old things. Then came resignation.
The trouble started when the Catholics began to
win. Thus there were three phases, starting
with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala,
in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real
conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and
acceptance of the inevitable.

(614) Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is
very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner,
no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien
things. If a commoner tried he would be killed.
If he is a noble, he will find things easier,
but he too had better be careful, for if he is
a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out
(killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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581 all it is a matter of proper behavior and secondly one of good work. There are no taboos on interclass marriages. Note that slave descendants are placed in the system. Above all they do not want a lazy mate. The rank is the same for both sexes: behavior, work, and personal appearance. As the guru said, "How in hell could we have clothes if the wives were not always weaving? We can buy shirts and pants only rarely, as money is dear. Therefore, they must weave sarongs, etc." It is a simple necessity. I said, "Well then, as long as a girl is a good worker and is well behaved, you would like to marry her even if her face is like that of an animal." This literally raised the roof, and all of them laughed, including the flat-faced but attractive daughter. "Oh well," they said, "if she really has a face like a monkey, that's a different thing." They are absolutely adamant, however, that mere prettiness is not enough. If a girl is very attractive, but is bad on other points, no one wants her as a mate. They might like it, but they just can't afford it.

836 Roy said that nearly all women here are virgins at the time of their marriage (except the pairs who had sexual relations before, but these marry anyway). This goes for the men as well as the women. I asked what would happen if a man found that his wife was not a virgin. He said that he wouldn't make a fuss about it, but that the "marriage would probably not be happy." These little indications show me that there must be a lot of fooling around to give him any chance to answer at all.

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177 The only marriage ceremonies here are those of the church, and they are of recent origin. There is no native marriage ceremony here. This must be very unusual in Indonesia. There is not even a ceremonial meal.

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(Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

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All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

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First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

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The kepala kampung post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampung must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will
give dispensation only with a certain amount of
fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is
evidently easier because the Catholics are newer
there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage,
but the very poor folk may omit it, although
they try to pay a little, and merely go and live
together. The price is variana. Formerly it
included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes,
horses, cattle). They try to give these things
now, but it is degenerating into money alone.
The return gift is called tau laguana. The
girl's family gives it. It usually includes
properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads,
and formerly slaves. The price also formerly
might have included slaves, I think. In addi-
tion, the girl's family gives a kind of "house-
hold outfitting" to the couple, including bas-
kets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is
like a dowry. Evidently it is also called
laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return
gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant
mother's brother's daughter type marriages.

[778] The price is much lower now, and this consti-
tutes a big change in the last fifty years or
● [565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might
pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two
slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do
so. In the old days, however, if a slave man
tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean
that both of them would be put to death. This

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
184 about given up the bride price here, but that the
Christians keep it up firmly. This is another
example of the greater conservatism in some
ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not
be true: that the Catholic church has decided
that the bride price is a good idea, as it
solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it
out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries to-
day and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's
parents. If all is O.K., the parents get to-
gether and decide on the price. The wedding
starts with the boy, with his best man, going
to the house of the bride, and there her family
kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and
the boy and his best man eat the pig or part
of it that evening, and then the couple have
their first sex relations in the girl's house.
The next morning the boy goes home taking what
is left of the pig and gives it to his family.
That day he returns to the girl's house with
his best man, leading a goat. This is presented
to the girl's family and they eat it. That
evening, the girl's family again kills a pig,
and the four eat part of it and then the couple
sleep together again. The next morning the boy
goes home taking the remains of the pig to his
family. He then returns with another goat and
gives it to the girl's family. That evening a
third pig is killed and the four eat of it and
the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 They insist that there is not one case of
[848] a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 In the family the Catholics have tried to
797 stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2)
595 levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3)
587 mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do
582 this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 In regard to the nobility, I can get no re-
753 action on ideas of magic power, and they say
• [565] that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is
just right for these folk who are ill a good
deal of the time). But there is no real kekua-
tan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves
(like the "and two persons" still used in the
formula for the bride price among the Buginese).
There are slaves in the kampong now, but he
thinks that only about two to three per cent
of the population are so categorized. They
are, and were, taken into the suku, but for-
merly there was little intermarriage with them,
and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the
death punishment could be meted out. The
marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessen-
ing, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is
an excellent man and a good worker) may marry
a higher girl. However, they are well known,
and in general are still to be classed under-
neath. For example, they have to do certain
duties (the guru said they are like "servants";
he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live
in houses with regular people, or perhaps in
their own houses. Everyone knows who they are,
but no mention is made of this because they
reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth
investigating further: exactly what are the
duties, and exactly how are they thought of
and what do they think of themselves, etc.?
(Remember that in the United States no one
really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open
charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku
property, and not all suku have them. Odja
and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapi-
tan and others are mad for gold: they want
to get it in order to have ornaments made for
feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they
sell these objects, they will become sick. On
ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk
(for example, members of the Odja suku) from
ordinary people. They are really unclear about
this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who
had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and
all of Gusa and all the members of some other
suku had them. They said vaguely that those
who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk."
I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said
yes. I get the idea that there are not many
of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps
only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan,
etc., can wear those of the suku at certain
feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's
wealth. And these things are suku property and
do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampung.
[429] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or
other office holder is probably a bit higher.
They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no
more of a bride price for his daughter than an
ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very
far in class investigation here, that's quite
clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at
first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
• 565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers
to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku
membership who had a land privilege was in-
cluded in the category "nobles." This means
that there is no nobility properly speaking.
Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the
eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of
a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could
well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe
is legendarily the biggest man here, according
to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But
then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja.
Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah
here are really the old ranks, and the radja is
simply elevated to his present post only in re-
cent history. This is probably why the radjas'
hold is so weak here. They have no magic power
and never were really higher than the tuan
tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise
against them at any time. What they fear is
the government which stands behind the radjas,
as well as a certain amount of respect and what-
ever the radjas have of ancestral claims accord-
ing to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned
the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-
descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes,
they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If
there has developed any real royalty feeling
here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of
Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the
mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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I note also that

554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

195 Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
● 565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

793 In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

361 In 1912 a church was built at the kampung
lama of Riang Kami (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs
are represented. This is when they have a new
korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).
2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).
3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).
4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuwiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
614 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
793 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
565 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
789 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
756 there are priests and gurus of the new religion.

And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the big men in the old days. Today, they can't use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

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● 565 Thus one can say that only big men, that is, the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

[184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and

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124 kampong, Tjantjar, and there the guru and the other person and a pastor from Maumere were found. The guru had received no letter from van Bekkum, and was afraid to start work until he had it. Also, there was an inspection of schools today. I got angry, and threatened to leave the place. Then we decided to go to Ruteng to van Bekkum, and when there it turned out that the latter had sent the leave papers to Pau, the guru's kampong, one-half kilometer from the mission, but it never reached there, or something happened. Anyway, we finally got things straightened out and we began work at the pasangrahan. Tomorrow I will be at Weol.

We started by inspecting the records, which, though they have been filled out, have many holes. His map is good, but needs touching up. I don't know yet how his answers are. As for the questionnaire, I got as far as the end of the Weol names, but not onto the Ndung names. The following are some of the holes:

592 1. In exactly which houses do the various
582 households live? There are only six houses in
595 Weol (nine houses in Ndung). Incidentally, I
note much polygamy. The kepala kampong has six wives. There are plenty of extra-kampong marriages, as there must be if there is kampong exogamy. But there are some endogamous va'u marriages. So far there are no endogamous panga marriages. Each house has a tu'a mbaru, and if in a house there is a tu'a panga he is also the tu'a mbaru. But there is one house, that of tu'a tenu, which has the latter for the tu'a mbaru, but there is another tu'a panga therein. There are tu'a mbaru who are not tu'a panga.

2. Religion is not noted.

● 565 3. The assistant did not note the class and clan and totem of those who married into the kampong, who were mostly women, but some were

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565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high office. [114] Maybe Linton is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for 614 Weol (he uses the local totem names) is: 784

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

591 4. I must ask whether the men who have come to live matrilocally did so because they didn't 583 pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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567 said that this was true in Ruteng town especially. I get the definite impression that there is a lot hidden under this slave secrecy, the kind of evidence that seeps out when I ask about the dalu and kraeng. These folk have had a hard time, and were not liberated from Bima, which ruled with a hard hand, until relatively late. They are still, I think, under the dalu and the kraeng a lot.

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● 565 He said that there are kampongs where all the inhabitants, though originally commoners (and note the difference between the "gelarang kampongs" and the "leke kampongs" below), were made into virtual slaves by the sultan and the dalu. These were the ata lampang, and their kampongs were called the "lampang kampongs." In Rahong they were Adjang, Limpong, Teras, Pokka, Kina, Ketok, and Lenteng. Here the people are all of this background, except for a few newcomers, and they are not ashamed to tell it. And nowadays they marry with other commoners and even with gelarang (although the assistant later grimaced when he said that he wouldn't want his family to marry certain people). The main areas for this kind of kampong were and are Todo, Pongkor, and here in Rahong.

Then there are kampongs nearly all of whose population is descended from commoners who were sekontu, i.e., virtual slaves of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. In Rahong these kampongs are Tengka, Levur, and Levat. And there has not been much mixture yet. The folk there are not ashamed to tell about it, as everyone knows, and everyone in the kampong is in the same boat. They too now intermarry quite a bit.

The mangko' pitu kampongs were under direct rule of Todo and Pongkor until about fifteen years ago, and these, although not exactly slaves, were like servants of the kraeng and had to render supplies to them when they came

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621 there. They remember their descent vividly.
567 These include, in Rahong: Tjera, Lerong,
● 565 Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others.

Thus it turns out that the "slave class" people were located largely in separate kampongs. But there were other slaves too. The lampang-sekontu type were commoners who were enslaved en masse, but there were the mendi too, who were either bought or captured in war. These were located in many kampongs, and were owned by nobles, gelarang, and even rich commoners. These were the ones who had to be paid (some of them) as a form of tax to Bima. These are probably the ones who would be most sensitive today, or rather their descendants would be. But the chances are that the lampang who no longer live in the separate kampongs are also sensitive. Thus I note that there are people from Teras, Tjera, etc. living in Veol or Ndung now, either married in or by some other means. They probably would get angry if this matter were brought up. He imitated the reaction that one might expect to such an insult. He looked very fierce. This shows that the fear is quite real. I suppose they might even kill him if he asked too much.

Cornelius says many slaves were made so by the dalu or kraeng on one pretext or another. Thus a man might ride past a noble's house with bells on his horse. The noble would say that he was insulting him and hence enslave him and his family. If this really happened, and he gave it as a circumstantial kind of case, this was a land of real oppression until recently.

178 He says that up until twenty or even fifteen
567 years ago there were heavy duties on the lampang,
565 and this was long after the Dutch came in. Only fifteen years ago everyone was open about the slave stuff. This is thus a place where there has been very rapid change: the covering up of

1 [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

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● 565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here).
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[173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

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614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by
during all this with his father, said that
there were plenty of wars between the kampongs
here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to
control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
[171] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one
hundred per cent descended from commoners (leke)
who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng.
That is, they are kampongs which were made up
of commoners before, and which were depressed
to the lampang status. In these, very few of
the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one
hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These
were originally commoners (leke) but were made
into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently
the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the
mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the
sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three
seemed to work together, and the dalu are called
kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about
one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk
here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in
the gelarang Rahong here, that is, under the di-
rect control of the dalu. There are eight of
them, including Puruk. The assistant says the
kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them
they are nobles among nobles, but in other kam-
pongs they can play on their status and the folk
have to give them respect. Formerly they gave
them more evidently. He says that up to the
present time they still receive various forms
of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here
said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
● 565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
(177) real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

[i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
●565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and
paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pong-
kor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had
to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class.
And the recency may explain some of the sensi-
tivity. These folk are just trying to make
their way into full freedom and won't be held
back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng,
whose identity I didn't know as he was just
dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive,
said that all men were equal now! Then he went
on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to
the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas; had
the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu
were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the
ones where most of the population was gelarang
(for example, Veol), and the ones where most of
the population were commoners (for example,
Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked
whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made
lampang, and the assistant said that he thought
not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles
in in order to keep things going (indirect
rule!).

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Cornelius² says that he does not know whence
came the dalu or what the situation was before
they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor
kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before
the dalu came in (see Coolhaas). It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima admini-
stration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here,
note that the Sarasins³ in 1902 or thereabouts
! [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] ² [i.e., the
assistant -- Analyst] ³ [See 2: Kennedy, OBI Indonesia, cat. 116,
p. 242 -- Analyst]

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567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.

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565 If it is so that the dalu were put in by the
621 Bima administration, perhaps originally there
174 might have been only the gelarang, the tuan
[614] tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the
latter were aborigines, and the first conquest
brought in the gelarang class. But this seems
unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class
looks very ancient here. (For example, the
Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right
at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed
to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in
Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and
others are not, or like the situation in Ende,
where some have mosa laki and others do not.
Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three
hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and
Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who
came in through Makassar. They say so. But
they have no matrilineal system so far as I
know, and they have the va'u system like all
the people in Manggarai. And the language is
the same. However, I asked the assistant if I
was right in that the kraeng had a different
accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere
local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends
say that the dalu came from outside somewhere.
But their names are Manggarai, and they have
the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-
Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them,
to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese
in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated
by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in.
I would favor the first explanation, but am
bothered by the fact that some kampongs were
under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor
kraeng. It looks as though they had a double
rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 the old adat:

621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.

174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
177 Pongkor.

177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were
partly to a largely degree independent and op-
pressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here),
and the proconsuls of the central government
got what they could for the sultan (the dalu).
The question remains, whence the dalu? And I
must find out whether the dalu family trees
are the same as those of the kraeng. Note,
incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo
kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimila-
tion of rule here. There is the radja, whose
supporters would be the kraeng scattered all
over (and I heard the first day that "there are
a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjant-
jar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at
the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be
one. Now comes the question whether the dalu
[578] work with the radja, or are still a bit inde-
pendent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days
(and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And
what of the gelarang? Are they more for the
radja or for the dalu? Or are there no ten-
sions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc.
My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy
here. Why? There seems to be no real exploita-
tion any more, but perhaps there is a remembered
resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur
said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

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565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under
the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There
are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance
for elective democracy here, because (1) the
old adat system lives, and its class levels are
minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang
are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima
rule (and the assistant insists that they are
of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the
oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor.
Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is
even more remarkable here, and the radja is
very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I
tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps
in twenty years there would be no more radjas
in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppres-
sion has been too recent. It will take a little
time for the revolution, if any, to get going
in Flores.

585 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was
a matter of with whom one associates) and money.
But he said that you can tell by the manners.
I get a definite impression that the kraeng
are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then
tried to get at the class business via the
clans. I got this, which jibes with the kam-
pongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units,
although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang
va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u,
e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang
kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu
va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko'
pitu va'u.

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585 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng
614 va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u,
e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang,
i.e., Todo.

174 The history may be something like this:

621 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred
565 years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district
634 chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

648 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900:
the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with
also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa)
and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch
influence, the latter putting in the East Indo-
nesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the
Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well
as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area
is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja).

What will happen?

582 I checked over the marriages in Veol and
614 Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of
the inmarrying women. However, it looks as
though there is no pattern. Looking only at
the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can
find just about no system; the twenty-seven
women who married men of Veol came from twenty
different kampongs (highest frequency was three).
The four men who married women of Veol and came
here to live are from three kampongs (highest
frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of
Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest fre-
quency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

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166 no bride price or come for some other cause;
and those who have come to "work in the gardens"
and have settled in the kampong.

166 This last category accounts for the many
425 outside couples. Thus I discovered that they
624 can sell land to people from outside, with the
consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the
assistant knows, never makes any trouble over
this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah
that from now on the tribute from his field
such and such will be paid by so and so. There
are families which have sold all of their land,
but this is rare. They usually sell a part of
the lands. What happens is that once a new
garden is laid out (and most of the gardens
here are in the star shaped pattern) and the
tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the
families, the assigned section belongs to the
family until or unless it is abandoned, where-
upon the claim lapses and it is given to another
family. The family can sell its garden land
(so assigned) to anyone, with notification given
to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those
who have bought land here, and have come to live
here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is
in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has
moved there.

425 This led to a discussion of the division of
624 land. Only when a new garden is laid out is
the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands
here when he divides the wedges. Each family
must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too
many families and thus the wedges would be too
small, some families await their turn when a
new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used,
it stands until it falls. Then a stone is
placed at the navel, and there each year the
rites of the garden are held.

●
[565] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I
[634] asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they
[661]

Wv

425 stand with the families and get a share, like
624 any ordinary person? This led to the usual
● 565 wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he
634 came through. The truth is that the kraeng
661 don't get their land directly, but rather,
when a new garden is laid out, the radja just
says, I'll take this part. It may be a quar-
ter or even half of the pie. And he pays
nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so
requisitioned to members of "his family," of
whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of
Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay noth-
ing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said
that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land
anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a
real burden, and is at least a racket. I can
see where, if there is enough open land, a
kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces;
but the chiseling evidently comes from the
fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out
land after a lot of hard work has been done on
it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in
Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the
Radja work together (though this seems to be a
strange combination, it might take place in
Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big
tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole
native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kot-
tang of the state), and as soon as the poor
folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in
and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the
best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan
tanah in here because he naturally hates the
tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever pagan-
ism is left. This is why I'd like to know here
whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the
radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different
breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he
must.

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,

425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay
wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the
whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even
now, they can generally get undeveloped land
for the asking when a new field is laid out,
but they must work it themselves or pay labor-
ers wages. They do not need to pay for un-
developed fields, any more than the local folk
have to pay for them. But other aliens, like
the assistant here, must buy such land. If
the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed
land today, he must pay for the labor done on
it. Even the last remaining privilege, to
ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is
in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk
took back from the radja a piece of land that
had been given him and that he had worked.
Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is un-
known. The assistant says that they all came
from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan
tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They
were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor
area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long
time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima
and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai).
The pastor says that he thinks some of them were
originally locals who were elevated, and others
came from the outside. The assistant insists
that their family trees are different from those
of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly
elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

166 The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
621 cause for worry, because the original kampong
614 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
comers there are and how few of them are left.
There is a kampong where there are only three
old households left, and there are about forty
outside households. The three keep control.

[567] Those who have come into the kampongs here
comprise both unmarried and married folk. The
former all marry in. Some of the present folk
who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of
slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u
of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows
which families in the va'u are of slave origin,
but they will not tell outsiders. It is cer-
tain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol
folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the
kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi
entered. These relatives form an opening
wedge, and others follow. This is like immi-
gration in the United States.

[624] Very few come into the kampong and then
leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It
entered long ago and left about twenty years
ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often.
A clan enters and increases so much, while the
original clan also increases in size, that in
the end the original clan says that the immi-
grant clan must move. Then the other clan is
given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the
tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they
go. This is what happened in the case of Tjant-
jar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

We

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional admin-
istration. Bima was out, and this may be why
there is not so much feeling against the Dutch
here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says,
however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used
to have magic power (another sign of Makassar
or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power.
The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako
is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu,
always from his family, I suppose. The kepala
kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding
out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these
are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The
tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house
with influence. He is usually the oldest.
This position is non-hereditary and is evident-
ly a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary,
with the only exceptions those of the new kepala
kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the
obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elec-
ted at large, but by electoral districts.
There are five districts named according to
the place where the electors meet:

- (1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
- (2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
- (3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

We

124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They want him to respect the old ways and go slowly. This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
● 565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
183 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that this is true only of their heirs apparent. The trouble in regard to the rites which the gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him. He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

We

864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.
178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are
the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit
of respect, although this has suffered a marked
decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng,
and I can see that he tries to do the best he
can for his enormous "family" by getting land
for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, col- lectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalū	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang	} other slaves
ata sekontu	
ata mangko' pitu	

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken.
Others were taken as slaves because they didn't
behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
(689) Enslavement was evidently a great form of
punishment here for any infringement in showing
the proper respect to authority. Today there
are no more "slaves"

Wa.

567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sumbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but
291 they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them
177 then. Otherwise, there is just about no dif-
554 ference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

We

565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met
a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he
was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputa-
tion of being more refined than those from
Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very
much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
576 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old
178 days real respect was shown for the Bima dig-
nitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached
a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to
dismount from one's horse and remove one's
shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was
wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect for-
merly, a whole kampong might be made lampang.
Thus, enslavement was the great mass punish-
ment. Even today there is still a bit of
feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng,
although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u
feels a bit better than the incoming va'u
Tjepang. But this is not a real formalization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to
marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lam-
pang). There are a number of such cases now
in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry
everyone else except the mendi. There are
plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the
radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again
one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

We

565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

527 We

782 Drums, etc. are set up.

231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

[73] (6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[183] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[756] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba)
makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)."
Thus the word for young seems to have the sense
of making young or cleaning or renewing. There
is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the
tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo
is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are
sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this
time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
● [565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is
for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

[844] (10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
a first child, and all the kampong folk attend.
Later children are given smaller rites, and
only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacri-
ficed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten
days after birth. There is no special touching
the ground rite. However, at this time the
baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at
least some of them. A male mbako may be a
midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very
clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medi-
cine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc.,
but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women,
but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman
goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like
Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo
water holders. Neither parent may work at the
graves or go to funerals

5: Kennedy--402 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OBI Indonesia
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C
634
han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

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598
The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Moham-medan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C
634
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648
The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F
505
On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

1 [Live, in Reo --Analyst]

Wa

162	IIIIa. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng	69
614	IIIIa1. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng	56
	IIIIa2. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng Nipatale	13
	IIIIb. Ama Hurint Marimaking	58
	IIIIc. Ama Hurint Melamaking	80
	Total IIII. Ama Hurint	207
	IVa. Lewato Ama Waru'ing	25
	IVa1. Lewato Ama Waru'ing	21
	IVa2. Lewato Ama Waru'ing Nipatale	4
	IVb. Lewato Waktukang	21
	IVc. Lewato Tuhowutung	31
	Total IV. Lewato	77
	Va. Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing	7
	Vb. Lewodoreng Engamaking	43
	Total V. Lewodoreng	50

Thus the clan members of Wailolong total 647. There are 14 others from Leloba, and 27 from other places. The final total is 688.

(565) The "slaves" (Nipatale groups) total 17.

The "captives" (Ama Rere) total 62.

The "returned emigres" (Ama Rere Ama Tobi) total 10.

The marriages are as follows:

614

582

- Ia: IIIIb; IIIIc; Leloba Keleng Belolong (2); All OK.
- Ib: IIIIa1, IIIIb (3); Leloba Keleng Belolong; Ib; IIIIa. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.
- Ic1: IIIIb (5) IIIIc (2); Leloba Keleng Belolong; IIIIa1. The last is taboo. Letter to him.
- Ic2: IIIIa1. This is taboo. Letter to him.
- IIIIa: Ia; Ib (3); Ic2; IVa1; outside (3); IIIIa1;

R

162	Odja--Gusa	3--3	Djawa--Gusa	2--0
614	Odja--Reandona	2--0	Wadja--Odja	3--0
582	Odja--Woro	2--1	Reandona--Ndoru	2--0
	Gusa--Wanda	3--0	Penawuri--Baoru	2--0
	Gusa--Soa	2--0		

Thus, of the 15 frequencies, 11 are not reversed; 4 are. This might look a bit like mother's brother's daughter marriage. Note that Wanda never marries into any of the Big 5; but perhaps this does occur in Watu Rota (?).

To get anywhere in this area on the subject of marriages, one would have to collect this sort of data for all cases or from many kampongs. My guess is, whatever the original system was, that there are no marriage classes. However, there probably is a lot of mother's brother's daughter marriage.

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 162

Polygyny cases: (numbers refer to ages)

- (1) 38: 30, 20 (sisters); Odja-Meo; pagan; illiterate; No. 5.
- (2) 30: 25, 20; Odja-Ndoru, Meo; Christian, Christian, pagan; illiterate, 3, illiterate; No. 8.
- (3) 50: 50, 50; Odja-Reandona, Wanda; pagan; illiterate; No. 24.
- (4) 40: 30, 20; Ndosi-Wanda, Odja; Christian, pagan, pagan; illiterate; No. 54.
- (5) 45: 45, 45, 45; Odja-?, Wanda, ?; pagan; illiterate; No. 62 (giri tumba)
- (6) 50: 50, 35; Wadja-Odja; pagan; illiterate; No. 313.
- (7) 30: 20, 18; ?-Rewarangga; Christian; 3, 3, illiterate; No. 426.
- (8) 40: 30, 40; Bangova-Wanda, ?; Mohammedan; 3, illiterate, illiterate; No. 554.

565

There is not much to say about classes and

R

- 565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

Wac

VEOL--NDUNG

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621
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	Male	Female	Total	Houses	House- holds	Chil- dren	Chil- dren under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

5:Kennedy--426 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OBI Indonesia
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<u>We</u>		<u>Pagan</u>	<u>Christian</u>	<u>% Pagan</u>	<u>% Christian</u>
162					
771	Veol	74	66	53	47
	Ndung	<u>72</u>	<u>134</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>65</u>
	Total	146	200	42	58

	<u>Schooled</u>	<u>Illiterate</u>	<u>% Schooled</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
				<u>Schooled</u>	<u>Schooled</u>
162					
771	Veol	20	120	14	13
	Ndung	<u>22</u>	<u>184</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>
	Total	42	304	12	15
[771]	(all Christian)				

Ages of Those Schooled

	<u>Under 10</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>	<u>Over 60</u>
Veol	-	14	3	3	-	-	-
Ndung	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	9	20	5	8	-	-	-

Above 3 grades

Veol: 1 (16 years old, male, 6 grades)
Ndung: 1 (15 years old, male, 4 grades)

CLASS

	<u>Daln</u>	<u>Gelarang</u>	<u>Leki</u>	<u>Mangko</u>	<u>Sekontu</u>	<u>Lampang</u>
				<u>Pitu</u>		
162						
565	Veol	21	109	0	5	4
	Ndung	20	177	3	1	5
	Total	<u>41</u>	<u>286</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
	(Women	14				

(All these married in)